

586 refusing herself is a case for divorce, but disgrace is then thrown on the woman, who is rarely able to remarry afterwards. The man has only to say to his wife, "I send you back to your parents," to break the marriage. But more /295/ often he hides what he is doing and sends his wife home to her family for a few days. He then delegates an old woman from his camp to announce the breaking of the marriage to the wife's parents.

If the husband has instigated the divorce, the bride price remains the property of the wife's parents, but in any case the children remain the property of the father.

587 The woman cannot remarry before three months and ten days.
587 This forced retirement for women, which is prescribed by the Koran, is called ettef or ellouddet in Tuareg language. The women themselves are called tannanleft during this period. When this period has ended, her parents and the people of her camp organize a little celebration to announce that the woman is resuming her life of "free mores."

587 Many women do not want to undergo this retirement, and to
587 escape it they shift the responsibility onto a tree called agar in
824 Tamashek (Mærua crassifolia). They address the tree as if it were a person and say to it: "Agar, relieve me of my retirement which weighs on me too much; take the burden upon yourself." They place at the foot of the tree, by way of an offering, some antimony powder, a little perfume, and a fragment of cloth, which symbolize the attributes of a woman in the state of asri. Then, without waiting any longer, they resume their life of free mores.

587 If the husband wishes to take his repudiated wife back, a new marriage is necessary and a new bride price, smaller than the first, must be paid to the woman's parents.

682 Murder. -- Murder is rather rare among the Tuareg. It is punished by retaliation when it was premeditated and by material
628 compensation in other cases. The vendetta, which was formerly common among the Tuareg, has disappeared, making way for the dia, or tax of blood. The custom sometimes demanded that the

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
 628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
 from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
 692 no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
 643 case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
 aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
 Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
 766 abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
 abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
 Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
 never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
 oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
 life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

075 The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
 It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
 people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
 it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

761 Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
 sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
 763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
 which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
 at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed. /" or
 769 if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
 of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
 wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
 767 slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
 is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.

482 The body is carried on a kind of stretcher and taken to the burial
 417 place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
 with the face turned in the direction of Mecca,

(84) more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this,
 726 but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are
 562 often more numerous than the others.

721 Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the
 628 adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were
 enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the
 Sudan, the exactions of
 Marabout Abidine's people
 on the Kel Adrar Tuareg,
 at the time of the murder

[411] of their aménokal
 Safikroum in 1912, made
 irreconcilable enemies
 of these two fractions.

[648] At the beginning of
 the French occupation,
 when lieutenants
 Cottenest and Guilho-
 Lohan carried out their
 reconnaissance missions
 in the Ahaggar, they
 found women abandoned
 in the camps by their
 husbands. The good care
 which was taken of them

made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

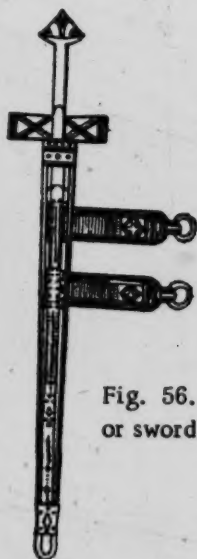


Fig. 56. The tacouba,
 or sword.

411 Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden
 staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

[77] /325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew
 how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They
 [43] were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

Ahaggar

[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
 428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
 614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or
 section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole
 clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
 [178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep
 114 in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
 423 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants
 of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
 643 indemnities (*ediet*) among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation
 692 of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
 [684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a
 man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the
 seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
 682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
 628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
 692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
 643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to
 accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part
 from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and
 fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
 [648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
 692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
 178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
 643 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
 [584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending
 from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
 [591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the
 Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal
 kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of
 his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his
 advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rêla drum-group are said frequently to have
 shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
 [701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rêla
 [721] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half
 of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
 [721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
 scale raiding.